

Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2845

C O N F I D E N T I A L DAR ES SALAAM 3622

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FOR AF AMBASSADOR SEELYE ONLY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR RH TZ

SUBJECT: TANZANIAN ATTITUDES ON RHODESIA

REF: STATE 242322

1. AFTER CAREFUL CHECKING OF PARTIAL TAPE RECORDING AND FURTHER DISCUSSION WITH NEWSMEN PRESENT, IT IS CLEAR THAT NYERERE'S PRESS CONVERSATION SEPT 27 EVENING JUMPED ALL OVER THE PLACE AND HAD NO COHERENT THEME. SOME CORRESPONDENTS FILED STORIES EMPHASIZING NEGATIVE ELEMENTS AND PRESUMABLY MARDER (WHO CERTAINLY WAS NOT PRESENT) BASED HIS STORY ON THESE.

2. AS TO QUOTE PARA 1 REFTTEL, EXACT TRANSCRIPT IS: BEGIN QUOTE THEY (THE AMERICANS) SAY INDEPENDENCE -- THEY SAY MAJORITY RULE IN TWO YEARS. NOW OF COURSE THE TWO YEARS IS A GAME. IT IS TWO YEARS. ANYBODY CAN SAY THAT. THE FORMULATION, IT IS TWO YEARS, EIGHTEEN MONTHS, SIXTEEN MONTHS, OR LESS. SMITH CAN PICK TWO YEARS -- THE NATIONALISTS CAN PICK FAR LESS. AND THEY WILL AGREE THAT IT IS TWO YEARS OR LESS. AND THIS TWO YEARS OR LESS TALKS ABOUT INDEPENDENCE. IT IS INDEPENDENCE IN TWO YEARS' TIME OR LESS. THIS IS WHAT WE ARE TALKING ABOUT -- THIS INDEPENDENCE. MAJORITY RULE IS IN FOUR WEEKS OR SIX WEEKS. BECAUSE WHAT IS THE MEANING OF THIS TRANSFER? ARE WE HAVING A GENUINE TRANSFER OF POWER TO THE MAJORITY AT THIS ISSUE OF PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OR NOT? WHAT ARE THE AFRICAN LEADERS
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ASKED TO JOIN? A MINORITY GOVERNMENT OR A MAJORITY GOVERNMENT? WHAT

ARE THEY GOING TO BE ASKED TO DO? IS IT GOING TO BE A MAJORITY GOVERNMENT? I THINK WE ARE AGREED ON THAT. THAT COULD WELL AGREE BECAUSE WE HAVE IT IN WRITING. IT'S AN AFRICAN MAJORITY GOVERNMENT IN TRANSITION. AND SO WHO WILL RUN THIS AFRICAN MAJORITY GOVERNMENT IN TRANSITION? END QUOTE.

3. RE QUOTES PARA 2 REFTEL, HERE IS PERTINENT LANGUAGE AS IT COMES THROUGH ON TAPE: BEGIN QUOTE I THOUGHT FROM TIME TO TIME KISSINGER TRIED TO MENTION DETAILS AND I KEPT PUTTING KISSINGER OFF DETAILS ALL THE TIME. AS I UNDERSTAND IT NOW, I AM TOLD KISSINGER HAD TO YIELD TO SMITH ON THIS ISSUE OF PORTFOLIOS. HE HAD TO YIELD FOR TWO REASONS -- ONE, IN ORDER TO GET SMITH TO ACCEPT THIS IDEA OF INDEPENDENCE-- WHAT THEY CALL MAJORITY RULE IN TWO YEARS, INDEPENDENCE IN TWO YEARS. TO GET HIM TO ACCEPT THIS. THE OTHER WAS TO AVERT AN EXODUS OF WHITES -- THAT IF THESE TWO PORTFOLIOS ARE NOT HELD BY WHITES, THEN THERE IS GOING TO BE AN EXODUS OF WHITES. AND NOW SUPPOSE KISSINGER HAD SAID THAT TO ME. IF THESE PORTFOLIOS ARE NOT HELD BY WHITES, YOU KNOW, THERE WILL BE AN EXODUS OF WHITES. I WILL SAY THAT I HAVE NEVER ARGUED THAT AT THE POINT OF MAJORITY RULE, THE VAST MAJORITY OF THAT MINORITY WILL WANT TO LEAVE. AND I HAVE BEEN ASKING YOU TO PREPARE TO RECEIVE THEM AND PAMPER THEM. SO HOW COULD I HAVE SAID AT THAT POINT AH, OF COURSE -- I HAD FORGOTTEN THAT. END QUOTE

4. IN TERMS OF WHAT NYERERE INTENDED TO SAY, DAILY NEWS ARTICLE CITED DAR ES SALAAM 3604 (FULL TEXT DAR ES SALAAM D-0040) REPRESENTS ONLY VERSION NYERERE OR HIS ASSOCIATES WOULD HAVE HAD CHANCE TO ADJUST POST FACTUM. THEREFOEN I WOULD JUDGE THAT IT, PLUS EMBASSY COMMENTARY, IS MOST RELIABLE READING OF HIS STATE OF MIND AT MOMENT. REGRETTABLY, NONE OF THIS PROVIDES US WITH ANYTHING VERY HARD WITH WHICH TO QUESTION ACCURACY OF POST STORY, BUT ON THIS KIND OF THING, I THINK SECRETARY ON TODAY SHOW SAID ALL THAT NEEDS TO BE SAID: I.E., "I THINK WE SHOULD CUT THROUGH THE RHETORIS AND LOOK AT THE REALITY."
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